

20th Century 'Thomas Jefferson' Speaks to Riverside on Reviving the Spirit of Liberty and Independence



Clay Jenkinson as Thomas Jefferson (photo by Michael Elderman)

By Clay Jenkinson

On June 13, Rhodes scholar Clay Jenkinson presented a portrayal of the nation's third president to an enthusiastic group of more than 500, at the Council's 1991 public project in Riverside. Jenkinson addressed the audience in the voice of Jefferson and answered questions. Jenkinson concluded the evening speaking as a late twentieth-century scholar about how Jefferson's vision of America has influenced our lives and may still offer food for thought and action. This article is adapted from his remarks.

I considered my election in 1800 to be the second American revolution. I believe that George Washington and John Adams, both great men, had taken the country inadvertently down the path of Anglomania, and even monarchy, that they had in some sense betrayed the revolution of '76. So my election in 1800 was meant to be a restoration of our great dream of a nation of utopia. Therefore, I prepared my inaugural address with great care. On the morning of my inauguration, the fourth of March 1801, I was staying at a boarding house about 200 yards from our unfinished Capitol building, in the new national capital on the Potomac, a capital that I had helped to design. That morning I walked unencumbered by a military escort, and certainly without the coach-and-six that George Washington and John Adams insisted upon, from that boarding house to the Capitol

Building. There I took the oath of office as the third president of the United States.

I pulled from my pocket a sheet of paper on which I had written out my vision of America, and tremblingly I spoke it forth to the expectant audience. Unfortunately, I mumbled. And no one in that crowded Senate chamber heard my vision of America except John Marshall, the Chief Justice of the United States, my cousin, a man who detested me. No one heard these words except John Marshall, and he did not like what he heard. The audience departed and bought copies on the street, to see what, in fact, I intended.

I said about the time of my inauguration, it's not true, as the *Bible* says, that there's nothing new under the sun, there *is*. This whole continent is new. Its openness, its infinite landscape are new, its magnificent features and its peoples and animals are new. Most of all, the government we've created here is the first government in history that pays deep respect to the average man and trusts him to govern himself. All eyes are watching this experiment in liberty, and whether we can make utopia happen in the United States will be the pivot of the future of the world. If we can show that humans are capable of governing themselves then this idea of self government and liberty will spread like wildfire across the planet, until at last the rights of man will be acknowledged in every nation on earth. This is the great dream for which I gave my life.

"I hold that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical."

— Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 1787

Now, let me explain my vision very simply. I am for the least government that can minimally hold our social fabric together. The great challenge of our revolution was not to separate from Britain; that was comparatively simple. The challenge was, can we put in the place of colonial subservience a government equal to the dreams of humans for justice and freedom. If we can't do that, we may as well not have separated from Britain at all. Can we reduce government until we find the least glue that can minimally hold the social fabric together? That government is best which governs least. In fact, the governments I most prized were those of the Indians, the so-called savages. They had no governments at all — no constitutions, no positive laws, no national debt, no Supreme Court, no separation of powers, no penal colonies. And yet, every individual in every tribe that I studied had a maximum of individual liberty. The tribes lived in deep resonance with the earth, they lived in rough harmony with their neighbors, and there was cohesion without government. That's anarchy. I said to my friend James Madison in a letter from Paris, given the choice between too much government, as in any European nation, and too little, as, say, amongst the Sioux or the Crow, I would not hesitate to prefer anarchy. But since we're Europeans, perhaps we cannot emulate the Indians. Let us see, therefore, how tiny our government can be and still hold us together.

As president of the United States, I said once that I considered the government really the foreign department, and in a moment of irreverence, I said the only two legitimate functions of the national government are the delivery of the mail and a modest coast guard. It was my view that we should be national with respect to foreign nations, and commerce, and a common defense, and state and local in all other respects. The farther from this room tonight that you let your tax dollars and your government go, the farther they are abstracted from this room, the less likely they are to be used with care, and the more likely that your monies are to be wasted, that you are to be ignored and governed badly by people with little or no respect for your needs or your hard labor.

When you send a senator and your tax dollars to Washington today, you know what happens: both of them disappear without a trace. But if this were your republic in this room and you taxed yourselves \$100 each and you named one of us to be your temporary leader, if that person abused his authority you would know what to do. You would recover your money, impeach him, and perhaps hang him. And this is the sum of good government: to keep people from injuring each other, and to leave them alone in all other respects to manage their own lives and their own improvement. Government should only do what government is especially able to do. All else should be done by individuals and private concerns, in my view.

I am for an agrarian nation. I said, those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever God had a chosen people, whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for genuine and substantial virtue. Now, what do I mean by this? What does this mean to the people of Riverside? I doubt that there's a farmer in the audience. Independence is more than just a political quantity.

Continued on next page

Jefferson

Continued from page 1

Independence is not being dependent upon Mr. Hamilton's industrial grid. In other words, if you are dependent upon the freeways of Southern California to get to work, or if you are dependent upon the water of Northern California or of Colorado to drink or to feed your crops, if you are dependent upon electricity produced in New Mexico or Dakota, if you send your waste outside of your own community, if you are dependent for maintaining your economic base on the military which emanates from Washington, D.C., then you cannot call yourselves independent, because he who controls any of those lifelines controls the destiny of Riverside County. That means that you must flatter him who controls those lifelines and be subservient to his whims, because cut off any of those lifelines and this county cannot survive, at least not in its full population and exuberance.

The farmer is truly independent. He feeds himself, he clothes himself, he builds his own shelter, he gathers his own fuel, he makes his own candles, and he lives independent of Mr. Hamilton's industrial economy. And therefore there is no one who can cut off his supply or pressure him to vote one way or another, or insist that he kowtow to whatever privilege is put before him. He is an independent agent. He owes nothing to anyone, and he is free to live his life according to his own dictates. That's the only independence, and all other forms are on the road to tyranny. That's why I prize the farmer. I said, whenever you crowd people into cities, which are so many open sores on the face of the landscape, farewell liberty and farewell independence. Now, when I talked about an open sore, I meant Paris, with several hundreds of thousands of people, all of whom spoke the same language, all of whom had a common history. Think of Greater Los Angeles, with 15 million people, of 80 or 90 different languages, with no common cultural or political heritage. This was never meant to happen.

That's my message to you: go home, wherever you came from. People are not meant to live in cities. In a state of nature, we are entirely free. I do not agree with Hobbes and other gloomy souls that we come together because we're afraid of each other. I believe that humans come together to cooperate and because they are naturally gregarious. But the ideal community is, I think, the one that Mr. Montesquieu spoke of, or Aristotle. The ideal community is small enough so that a town crier or herald could shout across the entire population at any given time. Anything larger than that begins to come apart as a community and will show signs of aggression, mutual distrust, vice, dependence, etcetera.

"The challenge was, can we put in the place of colonial subservience a government equal to the dreams of humans for justice and freedom. If we can't do that, we may as well not have separated from Britain at all."

Once I had purchased Louisiana, I had a horrible problem on my hands, because here was a continental nation, but I was a believer in the limited republic. So I suggested a radically decentralized national system, in which the national government would handle truly international concerns and defense and the post office. The states would handle education and roads and bridges and what we called internal improvements, what you call your infrastructure. The communities would handle local concerns, but each county, even, would divide up into what I called ward republics, little communities of 100 citizens each, who would come together and form a

little republic on the Venetian or Florentine model, would give themselves a name and write a casual constitution and meet every Saturday or once per week or month in the public square. Every citizen in the 100-member ward would participate in true democracy—not representative government, but true democracy.

That was my vision. As you know, it was not accepted even in my own lifetime. Alexander Hamilton was the great secretary of the treasury. I said we fought like two cocks in the cabinet of George Washington, and the fact is that I lost on virtually every great debate. I was a strict constructionist, Mr. Hamilton believed in implied powers. I believed in limited government, Mr. Hamilton believed in energetic government. I believed that the legislature should be supreme, Mr. Hamilton believed that judicial review, that your Supreme Court, should declare to the American people what is and what is not law. I believed we should be an empire for liberty, Mr. Hamilton wanted a world military and industrial empire. I was an agrarian, Mr. Hamilton was an industrialist, etcetera. In fact, Mr. Hamilton was the only person who ever got under my skin. I was an even-tempered man, and I prided myself on being socially polite, but I lost my temper several times over Mr. Hamilton. It seemed to me that I lived in one of the great moments of history. We had a new continent, we had driven the Old World out of the New. We had it in our power to create something unique in history, to avoid empire, to live for liberty and happiness and decency and human rights, and not for power and money and materialism and so on. And yet, Mr. Hamilton was so influential that he pushed the United States towards what I called Anglomania and Old World habits. And if there is anyplace on earth which is Hamiltonian, it is Riverside, California, I am sorry to say.

Now, what to do about this? I am not normally a gloomy man, and I didn't come to rebuke you; I came to stir you to revolution instead. I have had an experience unique to men of my time; I have spent three hours on your freeways. That's all in one afternoon. And I would like to say to you quite honestly that the Jeffersonian answer to your problems is to leave. In North Dakota or Minnesota or Iowa or Arkansas or Missouri or Ohio or Virginia, there is plenty of land. They are eager for industrious citizens, and there are open roads. And if

you have any sense at all and desire for independence, you will vote with your feet and go back.

If you must stay, I have suggestions for you. I was a city planner. I helped to plan the Federal City of Washington, and I built a new capital at Richmond. I was an architect and a kind of planner in many different ways, and I suggested this for our cities: for any new city west of, say, the Blue Ridge, let us design all communities like checker boards. Let us put houses and buildings only in the white squares and leave all of the black or red squares as forest or garden. That way, every house in America would face upon several acres of open country. This would make our cities much more healthful, and people would be able to have their gardens and live in something like a state of nature even though they are gathered together.

But I think the only genuine solution to your problems, if you insist upon staying here, is for you to become more polite and tolerant. I want to quote a letter that I wrote to my young grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, about civilization. We lived in times of enormous strife, and I was a very controversial political figure, and so he took some heat for that. This is what I said to him about politeness. I said, politeness, in fact, is artificial good humor. We don't naturally want to be polite, but if we will always be polite when another says a rude thing to us or is indifferent to us, that will first of all spread guilt in those aggressive people, but it also shows them the example of politeness and good humor. And these little sacrifices which we might make are no trouble to ourselves, but they will greatly improve community life. And so if you will just make a pact with yourself to be polite in the face of all the frustrations of living here, I think you will find that life will be better. Secondly, I urge you to be tolerant. I said, when I hear another man speak an opinion that is different from mine, his error does me no injury. As I said in my first inaugural address, which was an attempt to conciliate a war-torn nation, every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names men of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists. And so it seems to me that if you must live here, the only answer is generosity and tolerance and forbearance. Now this is hardly revolution, but it certainly would improve life in California.



Questioning the 'Sage of Monticello'

Members of the audience addressed a wide variety of questions to the speaker. Still portraying Jefferson's character, Jenkinson answered as he believed the "Sage of Monticello" would.

Isn't there a whopping contradiction between being the foremost advocate of civil liberties and also owning as many as two hundred human beings at Monticello?

Yes. Let me try to explain this. Nothing that I say is meant to be a rationalization or a justification for the ownership of slaves. There is no justification, economically, morally, politically, or under natural law. There is no justification anywhere for the ownership of slaves. I spent my entire life trying to emancipate slaves. The Declaration of Independence, as some of you know, had an anti-slave paragraph, which was, in fact, expunged at the insistence of the Carolinas and Georgia, and, indeed, several of the New England slave-trading states. We lost an opportunity to drive a wedge into this institution at the founding moment of the nation. I resented that, and circulated my own draft of the declaration for the rest of my life as Christmas gifts to my friends. Then, I wrote a draft constitution for my own

country, for Virginia. This was not accepted, but it would have freed all children of Negroes in the year 1801. Overwhelmingly defeated. My first bill as a member of the House of Burgesses in Virginia was one that would have allowed slave owners to manumit their slaves under controlled conditions. Overwhelmingly defeated. I also wrote as a member of the United States Congress something called the Bill for the Government of the Western Territories, which should interest you, as a way of bringing in states like California and Oregon and the Dakotas on an equal basis without treating them like colonial subservients. That bill forbade slavery to cross the Appalachian Mountains anywhere in the United States. And that bill failed on the floor of the House of Representatives of the United States by a single vote. I said, millions of unborn Negroes had their destiny in the hands of one vote, and that vote was absent from Congress.

My public record is clear and emphatic. I was the foremost emancipationist of my time. Why, then, didn't I free my slaves? The answer is unpleasant but honest, and that is that there was nowhere for them to go. It was illegal for any freed slave to stay in the state of Virginia. He must leave within twelve months and never return. He was not welcomed in Maryland, in Carolina, in New Hampshire or anywhere else. There was no transition, there was no safety

Continued on page 4

Let me close the formal portion of this simply by urging you to be bolder than that and to create revolution. I said to Mr. Madison in a letter from Paris, every constitution of the United States should be torn up every nineteen years. Each generation should start the United States over again. I thought, if we fought a war in 1777 over the issue of consent of the governed, then how do we avoid passing on an imposed system to our children and grandchildren? How do we make sure that they get to consent?

And so, my solution was to make sure that every system, every law code, every constitution, every national debt, expired with the generation that undertook it. And then the rising generation came together in a sober constitutional convention and refashioned the United States according to its means and dreams. Now, that seems to me perfectly reasonable. I wrote this letter to Mr. Madison, and he wrote back a horrified reply. He said, Mr. Jefferson continuity is worth something in human nature. But I doubt it. I think justice is more important than continuity and order.

And so I urge you to find mechanisms to revolutionize your system peacefully. I'm a pacifist more or less. But if you refuse to find peaceful mechanisms to change then I assure you there will be rebellions, there will be insurrections, and eventually you will come to a reign of terror. This is inevitable. Every government, including your own, becomes corrupt, wasteful, bureaucratic, insensitive. It seeks roots and becomes root bound. That's why it's important to move your capital from time to time. And that system must be simply plowed up and the slate wiped clean so that the nation can begin again on republican virtue from generation to generation. If you don't find these mechanisms, then surely, the tensions of your culture will grow until there are insurrections.

Now, I'm going to shift gears, and take off this wig to speak in my own person for a short time. I want to just back up historically for a minute, if I might. First of all, I think Jefferson is both the answer and the problem in this question. That's why I was, in a way, reluctant to bring him here. I made up a riddle on the airplane: what's common between Jefferson and Southern California? Both built their houses where there was no water supply. Jefferson had this zany idea to build Monticello on a mountain, and he did so. There was no adequate water supply during any time when there wasn't a lot of rain. And so, he had to send slaves down the mountain to the river three miles away to haul up water. That has to reflect back on Jefferson the slave owner. Here was a man who was willing to make it inevitable that three or four people had to spend their lives fetching his water. And I think that's what you've done, too, although you haven't made so conscious a moral compromise.

Also, I think Jefferson never saw an invention or a gadget that he didn't like, and that leads us directly to steam power and airplanes. If Jefferson truly came here tonight, he wouldn't talk to you, he'd go buy a laptop computer. Jefferson was a kind of technology junky. And he thought that we could invent our way out of human problems. Well, we see what that's amounted to. If he had lived a little later, he would have had to think about appropriate technology. In his own time, he only thought of technology as unendingly good.

Jefferson also was a believer in progress. Progress is a great thing. It's created the largest and most happy middle class in the history of the world in the United States, but it's progress that's existed to the exclusion of virtually all other people in the Second and Third World, and some in the First. And when I was born, thirty some years ago, the great dream was that we would find some alchemy, some way of finding fool's gold or an unlimited source of energy that would replace fossil fuels, that this fusion or cold fusion would come in our lifetime, and that science would do this for us.

Now, even if science could do this for us, we realize that the planet can't stand the hydrocarbons that we've already dumped into its system. So, humans can't continue to live this way. And there is probably not a scientific solution to give us the energy we want to live like this, like Californians do, and yet live in anything even minimally harmonious with other peoples and with the planet. And so, the future – this is very gloomy but I think it's the case – the future is Africa. The future is going to be a new kind of tribalism. I hope that we can create a kind of high-tech tribalism as we move into a pastoral age, but, assuredly, it's only a generation or two before Americans are going to have to have a radically different way of organizing their daily lives.

I see Jefferson as this pivot figure: he created the dream of America, he couldn't live up to it. We emphatically can't live up to it, but we're still seeking it. Now, what does Jefferson teach us? First, he teaches us that it didn't have to be this way. We think of history as kind of an inevitable chain, but Jefferson teaches us that there was an alternative. We might have pursued Jefferson's decentralized, agrarian, least government anarchy, but we didn't. But that's good news, because it means that we chose and that we get more choices in the future.

The second thing he teaches us is that it doesn't have to be this way from now on. We can go out of here tonight and insist upon a new way of thinking about life. And Jefferson teaches us that if you insist carefully enough, if you do your homework and work your way up the scale of terror, that you can change the world. And I think that's good news.

Third, and most important, Jefferson teaches us that human change begins with enlightenment. It begins with books, it begins with conversations, it begins with community exchange, with music, with conversation, with wine, with cuisine. The answer to our problems is not Jay Leno; the answer to our problems is Bill Moyers, the answer to our problems is a book at your local library. And I'm not convinced that this part of the Enlightenment was wrong. I believe that the Enlightenment gave us the tools with which we can understand the world and learn to resonate with it. And that's the humanities. It seems to me that Jefferson is the one great exemplar of this idea in the United States. If there's a problem, let's read about it, and then once we've read about it, let's spread the word and talk about it, and start a movement of enlightenment. Let's actually lift the burden from human shoulders.



Jeffersonian Responses to Life in Southern California Modest Proposals for the Citizens of Riverside and San Bernardino

1. Grow some of your own food. If a garden is impossible, grow a few tomatoes or some lettuce in a window box.
2. Walk part of the way to work. Perhaps it is possible for you to park your car at some distance from your workplace. Walking clears the mind, encourages health, and reminds one of how much luxury fossil fuels and automobiles provide.
3. Turn off the television in the evening and read a book instead. Or have a conversation. Or take a walk.
4. If you must watch television, earn the experience by 1) providing your own electricity on a TV Bicycle Generator (available for \$245 from Real Goods Trading Corporation, 966 Mazzoni Street, Ukiah, CA 95482), or 2) contributing a dollar to a family book or education fund for every hour of television watched.
5. While commuting listen to books on tape. For a catalogue call 1-800-252-6996 (Books On Tape, Inc.). Libraries often provide this service free.
6. Create or join a book club.
7. Make music. Sing, or play an instrument, especially in the company of family and friends.
8. Write letters. These enable one to reflect and to communicate with a care and intimacy that conversation (particularly by telephone) seldom permits.
9. Work towards some independence from (or less dependence on) the grids of industrial life: telephone, commercial credit, electricity, natural gas, gasoline, tap water. For a catalogue of possibilities write Real Goods Trading Corporation, 966 Mazzoni Street, Ukiah, CA 95482.
10. Form a neighborhood or community association.
11. Make trouble. Write your Congressman. Amend the Constitution. Call for a Constitutional Convention. Impeach public officials. Rebel.

Reading List — Toward a Jeffersonian Community in the Twenty-first Century

Bellah, Robert N., et. al. *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*. New York, 1985.

Berman, Morris. *The Reenchantment of the World*. New York, 1984.

Berry, Wendell. *The Unsettling of America: Culture & Agriculture*. San Francisco, 1977.

Catton, William R. *Overshoot: The Ecological Basis of Revolutionary Change*. Urbana, IL, 1980.

Kammen, Michael. *People of Paradox: An Inquiry Concerning the Origins of American Civilization*. New York, 1973.

Ehrenfeld, David. *The Arrogance of Humanism*. Oxford, 1978.

Mander, Jerry. *Four Arguments for the Elimination of Television*. New York, 1977.

Mead, Walter Russell. *Mortal Splendor: The American Empire in Transition*. Boston, 1987.

Steiner, George. *Real Presences*. Chicago, 1989.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*. Ed. Richard D. Heffner. New York, 1956.

Whitman, Walt. "Democratic Vistas," in *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose and Letters*. Ed. Emory Holloway. London, 1971.

Questioning

Continued from page 2

net, as you might call it – no jobs, no housing, no training, no food. These people were childlike, that's how slavery works. Any slave that showed initiative, intelligence, a sense of justice, a lively energy was broken like a horse in Virginia. Slavery creates abject dependency and childlike subservience, and you cannot undo that tragedy simply because you find the system to be outrageous. And so, I kept my slaves because it seemed to me that, repugnant though slavery is, it was more responsible to keep them and treat them generously than to release them into a world that had no provision to absorb them in any way. They were pariah in the United States. This may not please you, or satisfy you, but I assure you that it was in my view the only responsible action for a person who inherited the plague of slavery to undertake.

But I wrote in *Notes on Virginia*, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, and his justice cannot sleep forever. Had I been alive in 1861, I almost certainly would have followed my own state of Virginia into secession, not necessarily over the issue of slavery, but because in a voluntary compact, the compact system of government, any state has a sacred right to secede at any time for any reason. The union is not magical, and it must not, in my view, be held together with blood.

What's Jefferson's view of the federal income tax?

Well, let me say that in my second inaugural address, in 1805, I said, what farmer, what mechanic, what laborer has ever seen a tax gatherer during my administration? My first act as president was to abolish all internal taxes. But I urge you to be rational as you go about this question. It seems to me this simple. When I became president, I inherited a national debt of 80 millions of dollars. That was Mr. Hamilton's gift to the United States. I said, we can overcome the debt in fifteen years, although we can't get rid of his financial system ever, now that it's been given its roots. My budget for the first seven years of my eight-year presidency was \$10 million per annum. Of that, \$7.3 million per year went to debt retirement. That is, seven-tenths of the annual budget of my administration went to retiring Mr. Hamilton's debt, and we lived on the pittance that remained. And all of that \$10 million dollars came from land sales in the West, and duties on luxury items that only the rich can afford and, therefore, should be taxed.

The average citizen was entirely untaxed during my two terms in office. That's the way it should be, but in your time, now that you are Hamiltonians, if you demand from your government "x" number of services per annum, then as moral law you must tax yourself "x" or "x plus one." Your form of taxing yourself at two-thirds "x" is a form of tyranny that not even George III could have thought of. A national debt is a national disgrace, and if you postpone that debt and allow your children and grandchildren to pay it off, that's a form of taxing them without their representation. No just or caring generation could do that to the future, and if your children have strength they will either repudiate the debt or send you back to work to pay it off.

What about women in Jefferson's life?

My mother, Jane Randolph, was a woman I had little respect for. I worshipped my father. My father was a frontiersman, he was plain Welshman, he was a frontiersman and had a westward vision, and he also insisted that I be classically educated. My mother was an English blue blood, a Randolph, one of the most distinguished families of Virginia. As I said in my autobiography, my mother traced her lineage far back in British aristocracy, to which let each reader assign what credence he believes. My mother had no influence on me except negative. I was married for ten years, and my wife died on the sixth of September 1782. In your modern par-

lance, I had something like a nervous breakdown on the occasion of her death. I decided never to remarry and never did. I did fall in love one more time in my life. I was in Paris serving as the minister there, and I met an amiable and handsome, accomplished British woman, a woman named Maria Cosway – a portrait painter, a miniaturist, a gifted linguist, a good writer and a great conversationalist. We had something like an eighteenth century romance, many letters and excursions in Paris. And we might have married. I might have broken my resolution except for two things. First of all, she was a Catholic and I didn't find that I could contemplate spending the rest of my life with someone who believed in the truth of the Trinity. And secondly, she was already married, and this proved to be insurmountable. But we did have an eighteenth century romance, which led to what some people consider my most famous letter, the head and the heart, which was a dialogue between my rational and my emotive principle over whether these sort of scrapes were useful or not in life.

Now, as to Sally Hemmings, let me say, first of all, this is none of your business. You have a right to know about my private life to the extent that it impinges upon my performance of public duty and no more. But since you asked, let me just say that I'm not going to solve this problem for you. Most historians are still perplexed by it, and how they respond to this question, I think, says more about them as historians than it does about me as an eighteenth century gentleman and slaveowner. Let me suggest two books (this is the Jeffersonian response): Read Fawn Brodie's *Thomas Jefferson: an Intimate Biography*, which painstakingly argues that I had a slave mistress and that, for example, I was at Monticello about nine months before each of Sally Hemmings's five children were born. And then read Virginia Dabney's book, *The Jefferson Scandals: A Rebuttal*. Then weigh the evidence and decide, and determine how important you think that conclusion is.

What are Jefferson's thoughts on education and illiteracy today?

As I said often, the world belongs to the living, not the dead. You must look around and decide why your educational system is in collapse. But let me say this, my view is that universal literacy can easily be produced by three years of publicly funded education. If that's not true in the late twentieth century, then something is desperately wrong with your social fabric, because education is a symptom of the way the nation is getting along. The fact is that your problems are not education, or crime, or drugs, or morality. Your problems are problems of economic justice. I believe that the Declaration of Independence will come to fruition in the United States when two conditions are met: when every human being born in this country is treated identically in the machine of the law, irrespective of color, or sex, or economic origin, or religion. Every human being treated identically; that's certainly not the case in 1991. And secondly, the declaration will have been fulfilled when every human being born in the United States has a roughly equal chance at modest prosperity. In other words, no one is disabled by accident of birth from thriving in some modest way in this economy. Let me just remind you of John Locke's *Second Treatise on Government*, in which he says that every human being has a natural right to a farm or a job, a farm if there is free land. If there isn't, every society must provide a job which gives equal subsistence as the farm would have done. But no one in a just economy should be excluded by accident of birth. Whenever that situation exists, you have a society which is ready for revolution. I read that in your time, and I find this almost impossible to believe though I think it's true, that less than one-half of one percent of the American people in 1991 control 37 percent of the property of the United States. Sounds to me like you need a bit of revolution.



The Riverside audience questioned "Jefferson" about slavery, taxes, education, drug abuse, and women's rights. Photos by Michael Elderman.

Taking 'Jefferson' to Prison

After presenting the words and ideas of America's third president to the Riverside audience, Clay Jenkinson traveled to a local prison, the California Rehabilitation Center at Norco. There he spoke with two groups of prisoners, a male and then a female gathering, many of whom had participated in the CCH-sponsored reading-and-discussion groups on community life. His talk covered many of the same themes, and the questions put to him by the prisoners were wide ranging and thought provoking.

You were a revolutionary. Would you comment on the Second Amendment, the right to bear arms?

Originally, as I understand it, the second amendment was designed to prevent a permanent military establishment. It was meant to have a militia instead. Now, a permanent military establishment, what we call a standing army, in history has almost always bankrupt a nation, led it into stupid wars, and finally turned its power against the people themselves. And so we wanted to avoid a permanent military. Well, how to do that? In our time, we thought the best way was to avoid a standing army was to allow people to have their weapons and then to require them or to encourage them to participate in a militia. That's the sense of the Second Amendment. It specifically says, a militia being desirable, the people shall have the right to bear arms. Well, in your time, as you know, there's no militia. You have a standing army, you have the world's largest army force. Moreover, whatever the militia you have, the National Guard or the national reserves, doesn't have to bring its own guns, its guns are supplied.

And so I think Mr. Madison, if he were here, would say that since we no longer have a militia, and since there's no safety on the streets on the United States, the right to bear arms doesn't have the same validity it had in 1787, because that right was dependent on this notion of a militia. Now, I'm going to disagree and I don't mean to be incendiary here, but I think you have the right to keep and bear arms in case you need to bring down your government from time to time. But I would urge you not to rob liquor stores or gas stations, or to kill each other over this or that. If you want guns to be revolutionaries, that's one thing. If you want guns to roll a joint, that's not exactly what I had in mind. I just think it's dangerous for the government to have a monopoly on the uses of violence.



Both of these prisoners participated in a group exploring the theme "Longing for Community." The California Rehabilitation Center at Norco was one of nine organizations that sponsored the scholar-led reading-and-discussion series. The Arts in Corrections program organized the events, as well as arranging for Clay Jenkinson's appearance. Above photo by Ernest Dillihay.

Isn't a 22 or 25 caliber handgun pretty pitiful against a neutron bomb?

No, you're quite right, the twentieth century is so different from my own time, that effectively, I don't think a revolution could occur in your time. And all rights are relative in some sense. In my view as a minimalist, the fundamental business of government is to keep us safe from each other. If your wife or girlfriend or daughter is walking in downtown Los Angeles, at midnight, she should be safe, and she should feel safe. There is no excuse in a civilized culture for there to be that kind of fear and that kind of random violence in the community. The basic right of humanity when they come together in groups is to live in safety.

We can talk about the Second Amendment all you want and its historic purposes, but in the late twentieth century there's just too much violence on the streets of America, and so that violence has somehow to be curtailed. Now I think the way to curtail it is not simply to take guns away from people. That's just a bromide, that's kind of a superficial solution. The way to curtail violence is to do justice, to make sure that every human being has an equal chance at happiness in life. Face it, if the cards were sorted fairly in the United States, and every one of you from birth had had good opportunities for education and for jobs and for your part of the American pie, my guess is that there wouldn't be 10 of you in this room. My view is that most evil, most crime is created by corrupt societies. There are some bad people, and you all know them, there are just some fundamentally bad people in the world, but there are very few. Most evil, most sin, most crime is the result of unfair systems, bad institutions. If you make the playing field level, if you make the system fair, most crime will go away.

Would you have changes to the constitution?

Yes, the constitution, which I didn't help to write, I certainly would have changed. When the Bill of Rights was being talked about, I wrote to Mr. Madison and suggested a Bill of Rights. And it was quite different than the one you have. It would have prohibited the national debt, no national debt. It would have prohibited a permanent military establishment. Now, imagine the United States in 1991 if we had an amendment prohibiting a permanent army, a permanent navy. We just couldn't be this nation. I had a bill that would have prohibited monopoly in any form. And finally, a bill that would have enabled any citizen to object conscientiously to service in the militia. This was for Quakers or other pacifists. If you don't want to serve in your town's militia, it seems to me, you have a good reason if you have a religious or philosophical sense of that, then you should be forgiven and allowed to do something else in times of war. So these are among the things I would have added.

I also, had I known what I now know, I would have greatly reduced the power of the Supreme Court. Just think of your Supreme Court in Washington, nine individuals. These people control the United States, and yet they're not elected, they're not accountable, they're not even impeachable. And so those nine unelected people can decide, let's say, not only questions of capital punishment for 249 million people, but they can decide on abortion, they can decide on states' rights questions, they can decide on international relations, and there's no way to overcome what they decide. Whatever they decide becomes law. That's a function that I never intended for the judiciary.

Democracy means that the people decide, and the people should not have their will overturned by nine unelected men. I would have tried to prevent that from getting out of hand, also.



My name is Clay Jenkinson and I live in Boulder Colorado. I just gave a talk last night, as you probably heard, over at the city of Riverside. When I talked to Susan Gordon at the state Humanities Council she said there was a possibility, if I wanted to, that I could come to prison. Having never had another chance to do this, I really thought it would be extraordinary, and it has been.

For one thing, you cannot imagine how serious your questions are compared to the average question that I receive. The average question is, "What was the style of architecture of your house Mr. President?", which is a good question. But what we have been talking about today is who are we as a nation and does it work, does it actually work as a system. And who is the victim of that system and who is not, and how do we solve problems of that sort?

I didn't want to come here and talk nonsense, some nitwit from outside who comes in and tells you about life – that would be an outrage. I also do not want to come in and just talk about some dead president. I want to talk about what matters, but I want to talk about it through a historical filter and to keep the lid on it and make sure we can talk in a rational way. It seems to me like I have had an extraordinary experience here because, in some sense or other, I am talking to the victimizers and the victims. Some of you have victimized people and some of you are in turn victims of this culture, but I am talking to people for whom this system does not work very well, at least not all the time, whereas normally I talk to people for whom it works very well all the time: judges, lawyers, college professors, and people of that sort. It seems to me that if you are going to do this kind of work you need to talk to the whole system, the whole population.

I wonder why George Bush and Michael Dukakis don't spend a fair amount of their time talking in prisons. It seems to me they might learn something. Just as if you are going to talk about the meat industry you might learn something by going to a packing plant. You want to go see where the hard stuff of the culture is happening. It's not happening in Holiday Inns. It seems to me if we are going to solve our problems the first thing we have to do, from a Jeffersonian point of view, is face them. You face them when you come in here as a man who owned black people and stand before a group that is at least half people of color. And so, it seems to me, this has been a valuable experience, at least for me. I really appreciate the questions you have asked.

I don't agree with all Jefferson says, I just try to represent his point of view. I don't know what the answers to these problems are, but the answer aren't being attempted very seriously by the existing political structure. That troubles me as someone who really believes in the idea of America.

Here Come the Feds: The New Political Landscape of Depression California

by Charles Wollenberg

Editor's Note: Charles Wollenberg, who teaches history at Vista College in Berkeley, wrote this essay to accompany a traveling Smithsonian exhibit, "Official Images: New Deal Photography." During the coming months, the exhibit will be seen at six different museums, members of the CCH-sponsored Rural Museum Consortium.

The photographs in this exhibit symbolize an important shift in American political history. In response to the Depression of the 1930s, the federal government greatly increased its involvement in the lives of average Americans and in the everyday affairs of local American communities. Even minor decisions of federal politicians and bureaucrats became crucial to the well-being of most American towns, cities, and regions. These pictures, taken by government photographers, not only portray much of the social reality of the 1930s, but also document Washington's new interest in matters never before considered within the federal purview.

Of course, California and the rest of the Far West had long been influenced by federal policies regarding Indians, public lands and public waters, railroad and other transportation subsidies, and military deployments and expenditures. But the Depression drastically increased the federal role. Dollars from Washington allowed millions of citizens to survive hard times, paid for vast public works, and supported policies that changed much of the social and political landscape. As the largest and most economically developed western state, California had the political clout to demand substantial federal assistance during the 1930s. But the state was also sufficiently self-conscious to resent the accompanying federal control and regulation. Nowhere were the conflicts produced by the Depression and New Deal more dramatically displayed than in California. It is no accident that the greatest Depression novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*, was written about this state.

"As the largest and most economically developed western state, California had the political clout to demand substantial federal assistance during the 1930s."

The decade before the Depression had been a boom time for California. Even the extraordinary economic and population growth of the 1920s, however, could not shield the state from the ravages of the 1930s. The population continued to grow, but at a much slower rate. The real estate boom turned to bust, the number of building permits declining by nearly 90 percent between 1925 and 1933, and farm income was almost cut in half. Only motion pictures seemed immune to the disaster, as Americans apparently sought escape at the neighborhood cinema. But movies could hardly prop up the entire California economy. Unemployment soared. By 1934, 1.25 million people, about one-fourth of the state's population, were on public relief.

Drawing on its extensive history of political activism and utopian thought, California produced a long list of



home-grown movements to "cure" the Depression. Technocracy and the Utopia Society, for example, posited social engineering solutions, while the Townsend Plan and the "Ham and Eggs Movement" promised substantial old-age pensions. But by far the most comprehensive and popular of California's home-grown programs to end the Depression was Upton Sinclair's EPIC (End Poverty In California).

A well-known muckraking author, Sinclair moved to California in 1915 and became active in the Socialist Party. In 1934 he wrote a novel, *I, Governor of California, and How I Ended Poverty*, and promptly tried to turn fiction into fact by changing his registration to Democrat and entering that party's gubernatorial primary. Sinclair advocated progressive tax reform to support unemployment benefits and old-age pensions. He proposed to put the unemployed to work on failed farms and businesses taken over by the state. There was an extraordinary popular response, as EPIC clubs popped up all over California. An effective grassroots campaign allowed Sinclair to defeat the regular party candidate for the Democratic nomination. But incumbent Republican governor Frank Merriam used massive financial contributions, anti-radical rhetoric, and America's first political campaign run by public relations professionals to defeat Sinclair in the final election. The fact that EPIC went as far as it did, however, is an indication of the Depression's great impact on California politics.

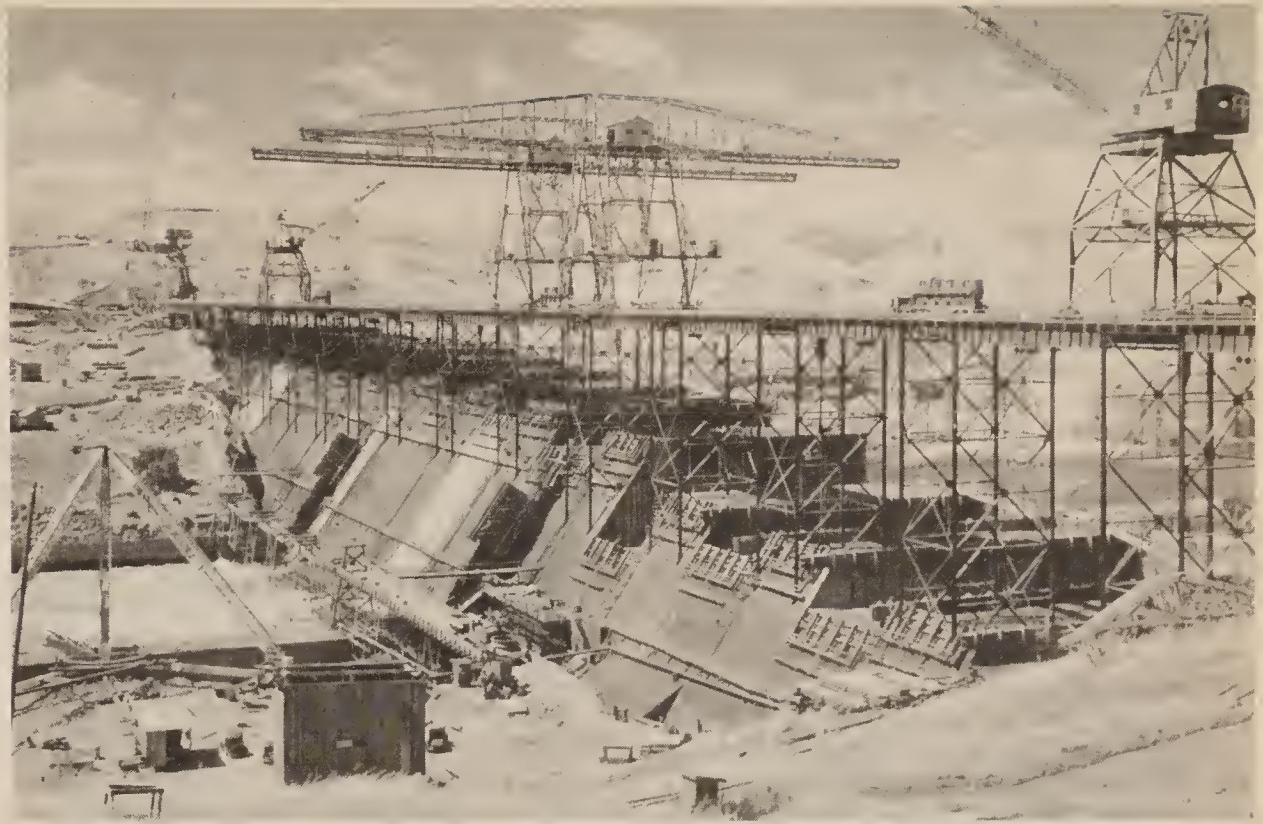
EPIC's electoral failure meant that in California, as in the rest of the country, the major political response to the Depression came from Washington. More than any previous president, Herbert Hoover actively tried to counter the effects of the economic disaster. But as conditions steadily deteriorated, Hoover's grim visage came to personify the Depression for many Americans. "Hooverville" was the name given to shanty towns that sprang up on the outskirts of every town and city. During the 1932 presidential campaign, Franklin Roosevelt offered few specific proposals, but his candidacy symbolized change. At least he wasn't Herbert Hoover.

"Virtually every California community that existed in the 1930s has a school, park, public building, sewer or other facility created by the WPA."

One of the few clear differences between the candidates during the campaign was on the question of direct federal financial assistance to the unemployed. Hoover opposed such assistance, arguing it would sap American individuality and destroy traditional federalism. But Roosevelt had few such qualms. Indeed by the time of his inauguration, conditions were so bad that he probably had no choice. In many areas, state and local relief funds were depleted, and without immediate federal help, mass starvation could have occurred.

Roosevelt's New Deal began the flow of federal dollars to local communities, a flow that has never ended. It also began the tradition of the "welfare state" in America – the idea that the federal government had an obligation to alleviate the serious economic and social problems of individual citizens. Most of the major "welfare state" programs that still exist, including Social Security, unemployment insurance, minimum wage, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children, date from the New Deal.

Roosevelt may have been charting new political ground, but he was enough of a traditionalist to believe that people should not get something for nothing. Most New Deal relief programs required recipients to work for their federal dollars, and the most famous of the work programs, the CCC and WPA, had profound effects on local communities.



Left: Young men waiting to ship out in the Navy, San Francisco. Photo by Rondall Partridge (National Archives). *Far Left:* Near Los Angeles, 1939. Photo by Dorothea Lange (Library of Congress). *Upper Left:* Well-baby clinic at an Imperial County camp for harvest workers, 1939. Photo by Dorothea Lange (Library of Congress.) *Right:* The Friant Dam under construction, 1941. Photo by William K. Walker for the Bureau of Land Reclamation.

The CCC, the Civilian Conservation Corps, hired unemployed men to work on recreation and conservation projects, usually in rural areas. The Corps built campsites, trails, fire breaks, small dams and stream channels, and public parks and beaches that still exist throughout California. It even restored a California mission. The WPA, the Works Progress Administration, was a much broader program, hiring millions of men and women to do a great variety of tasks. Virtually every California community that existed in the 1930s has a school, park, public building, sewer or other facility created by the WPA. The program also hired writers and students to prepare local histories and guidebooks, artists to paint pictures and public murals, actors and directors to produce plays, and, as we see in this exhibit, photographers to document the life and culture of America.

Along with programs directly hiring unemployed citizens, the Roosevelt and Hoover administrations planned large federal public works projects built by private contractors. Hoover initiated two of the most dramatic projects affecting California: the Boulder (Hoover) Dam and the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge. These structures were actually built during the Roosevelt years and were followed by the most important of all of California's federal public works, the Central Valley Project. Its irrigation facilities remain crucial to California's agribusiness economy, the nation's largest. Along with Colorado River dams and aqueducts also dating from the New Deal years, the Central Valley Project has made the federal government the largest purveyor of water in an increasingly water-starved state.

In addition to subsidized federal water, many California growers also benefit from federal price subsidy and acreage set-aside programs begun by the New Deal. These programs only affect "staple" products such as cotton, grains, sugar, and milk, but a system of government-enforced marketing agreements, also started by the New Deal, covers several California fruit and vegetable crops. Finally, federal farm credit programs dating from the 1930s serve many California growers.

The Roosevelt administration also gave industrial workers rights and protections that still exist. Under the National Industrial Recovery Act and later the Wagner Act, workers were guaranteed the right to organize unions and bargain collectively. With this federal assistance, California unions made a dramatic comeback after a decade of serious decline during the 1920s. The most significant case of labor resurgence came in the maritime industry, following a massive struggle that included the San Francisco General Strike of 1934. Unions not only returned to power in their traditional Bay Area stronghold, but also became established in many southern California industries. And in the north coast and Sierra forests, organized labor again established itself among lumbermen and mill workers.

Farm workers, however, were not covered by the New Deal labor laws. Indeed, agricultural laborers were left out of most of the social programs of the 1930s, including Social Security, minimum wage, and unemployment insurance. Yet farm wages in California dropped steadily, as growers' profits fell and thousands of desperate new workers, including "Dust Bowl" migrants from the lower Midwest, joined large numbers of Mexicans and Filipinos in California fields. Strikes and organizing campaigns, some initiated by the Communist Party, were often brutally repressed and won few long-term victories.

"The New Deal was primarily a political rather than an economic response to the Depression."

The condition of California farm workers, then and now, reveals much about the politics of the 1930s and the shortcomings of the American welfare state. The New Deal was primarily a political rather than an economic response to the Depression. Groups with political clout were able to gain the bulk of assistance, and farm workers had little such influence. While Cali-

fornia growers gained price supports, marketing agreements, and irrigation projects, farm workers were left out of most New Deal social programs. While largely white, urban industrial and craft unions received government support for bargaining rights, agricultural unions, often made up of minorities and migrants, were left unprotected. Overall, middle class Americans who were temporarily poor due to the Depression received greater assistance than the permanent poor, those we now call the "underclass."

For all its deficiencies, however, the New Deal gave vital help to tens of millions of Americans, including millions of needy Californians. It transformed the state's Democratic party from a minority to a majority political force, at least in terms of voter registration. Economically, the New Deal allowed American capitalism to survive its most serious crisis. But all of the Roosevelt administration's efforts did not end the Depression. In 1939, unemployment was still substantially higher and industrial production significantly lower than ten years earlier.

Only World War II, with federal expenditures far greater than those ever dreamed of by the most devoted New Dealer, finally restored prosperity. The war stimulated a new economic and population boom that transformed California society. World War II thus completed the "federalization" of California's economy and solidified the monetary pipeline from Washington. In the process, the state became the heartland of America's new "military-industrial complex."

After the war, historian Bernard DeVoto noted the great impact on California and the West of the previous fifteen years of large-scale federal expenditures. According to DeVoto, the West had acted characteristically, "demanding further government help" while "trying to avoid all regulation." In short, the federal government was told, "get out and give us more money." As we enter the 1990s, it is clear that the government has not gotten out, but in an age of massive federal deficits, Washington may not have more money to give California and other American states. Since federal power has traditionally accompanied federal dollars, the nineties may well see a realignment in the relationship between Washington and local communities that is as dramatic as the realignment which occurred in the 1930s. Future historians may regard this exhibit as documenting an American political era that began in 1930 and ended in 1990.

JUNE GRANTS AWARDED

Humanities in California Life

T'tcetsa: Daughter of the Blue Rock People
Sponsor: Film Arts Foundation, San Francisco
Project Director: Eric Smith
Amount of Award: \$10,000 in outright funds and
\$2,200 in matching funds if
\$4,400 in outside gifts are raised

When T'tcetsa was ten years old in the late 1850s, nearly all of her tribe was killed or forcibly relocated by government soldiers. The young girl escaped and fled across northern California. Eventually captured and indentured to a settler whom she later married, this woman survived and became a primary source of anthropological information about the life of her people. This film project uses her words and new footage of the northern California landscape, in addition to interviews with people who knew her. The project contrasts T'tcetsa's point of view with those of the anthropologists who recorded and interpreted her story.

Continuing Traditions of Japanese Americans: Story of a People in Sacramento, 1869 to 1992

Sponsor: Sacramento History Museum Project Director: Wayne Maeda
Amount of Award: \$22,029 in matching funds if
\$44,058 in outside gifts are raised

This exhibit and related public programs will consider the regional Japanese-American experience in the context of California's history and international relations, beginning with the founding in 1869 of the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Colony at Gold Hill. Themes of survival amid the anti-Japanese hysteria that brought internment and relocation, along with subsequent moves toward resettlement and redress, will be explored through talks and a presentation of the CCH-funded film *The Color of Honor: The Japanese American Soldier in WWI*.

Pangarap: New American Visions

Sponsor: Asian American Studies Center, UCLA
Project Directors: Russell Leong,
Enrique de la Cruz
Amount of Award: \$9,950 in outright funds

Two regional workshops are planned, in Long Beach and in Hayward, to explore themes in Filipino-American writing as it relates to *pangarap*, or idealism of purpose and the noble exercise of energy. Influenced by the Spanish and the Americans, Filipino writing has incorporated many languages. The workshops will explore this legacy, along with Filipino-American experiences and universal themes of immigration.

Labor History Tour of Los Angeles

Sponsor: Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles
Project Director: John Laslett
Amount of Award: \$10,000 in outright funds

This project will prepare an annotated map of important places in Los Angeles' labor history, then conduct tours and present a video program of highlights in the tour. The project will emphasize buildings and sites where major grassroots activities have occurred, along with the contributions of working people to the life and history of the city. The tour is scheduled for completion in October 1992.



Photo of T'tcetsa, who survived the massacre of her Blue Rock People to become a major source of cultural information about life before Europeans arrived in northern California. Photo courtesy of the "T'tcetsa" project.



Dedication of community hall at Del Rey, south of Fresno, drew both Japanese-Americans and whites. Photo circa 1919, courtesy of the "Country Voices" project.

Ancient Songs in a Modern World: A Conference and Festival of Native American Music of California

Sponsor: American Indian Studies Center, UCLA
Project Director: Duane Champagne
Amount of Award: \$9,828 in outright funds

Before the arrival of Europeans, the region that eventually became known as California was the most densely populated in North America. This day-long conference will examine the role of music in the cultural survival of California Indians, along with the master-apprentice relationship and the changing attitudes of scholars who study Indian traditions. The conference will take place in May 1992.

Russian America: The Forgotten Frontier

Sponsor: The Oakland Museum
Project Director: L. Thomas Frye
Amount of Award: \$9,880 in outright funds and
\$19,350 in matching funds if
\$38,700 in outside gifts are raised

This fall, the Oakland Museum will present an exhibit and a symposium on Russia's little-known role in the colonization of California. Scholars from California, Alaska and the Soviet Union will explore Russian trading and colonizing before the twentieth century, along with Russian interactions with Native American and Hispanic peoples.

Issei Pioneers Exhibition Lecture Series

Sponsor: Japanese American National Museum
Project Director: Akemi Kikumura
Amount of Award: \$10,000 in outright funds and
\$5,000 in matching funds if
\$10,000 in outside gifts are raised

This twelve-part series of talks and discussions will look at historical and cultural aspects of the museum's inaugural exhibit, "Issei Pioneers: Japanese Immigration to Hawaii and the Mainland." Among the topics are "Mutual Images: What Do Japanese and Japanese Americans Think of Each Other?," "The Okinawan Experience in Hawaii and North America," and "Points of Intersection for Ethnic Groups in the U.S." The project will also publish a special magazine related to the lectures.

Country Voices: Three Generations of Japanese-American Farming

Sponsor: Fresno Metropolitan Museum
Project Director: Ross McGuire
Amount of Award: \$10,000 in outright funds and
\$6,500 in matching funds if
\$13,000 in outside gifts are raised

This series of programs includes an exhibit and discussions about the "tradition of land" that has been passed down since the Issei, or first-generation Japanese, came to the Fresno area. "Country Voices" will explore how everyday items of farm life and oft-told stories reveal themes of the land and cultural survival. The museum will also show two related exhibits: the "Wall of Names," about the Fresno Assembly Center that housed more than 5,000 Japanese-Americans, and a collection of Ansel Adams photos taken at Manzanar. The exhibit opens in May 1992.

Encuentro: Mexico in Los Angeles

Sponsor: Occidental College, Los Angeles
Project Director: Manuel Pastor
Amount of Award: \$10,000 in outright funds

Founded by a racially diverse group of settlers from what is now known as Mexico, Los Angeles has a long history of multiculturalism. In connection to the upcoming city-wide "Artes de Mexico" celebration, this conference and exhibit will explore Los Angeles' heritage as a Mexican city. Topics include how *mexicanismos* surface in local patterns of architecture, literature, political styles, and popular culture, as well as the complex relationship of Chicanos to Mexico and the United States. Events are scheduled during November 1991.

Dissemination of the Humanities

The Poet and the Con

Sponsor: International Documentary Association, Santa Monica
Project Director: Eric Trules
Amount of Award: \$26,050 in matching funds if
\$52,100 in outside gifts are raised

This film is about the relationship between Eric Trules, a performance poet and artist, and his uncle Harvey Rosenberg, a convict. The black-and-white documentary explores their friendship and concepts of criminality, as well as how the two men's shared Jewish background has affected their lives.

JUNE GRANTS AWARDED

Humanities for Californians

American Renaissance Chautauqua in Riverside

Sponsor: Riverside Arts Foundation

Project Director: Karen Kraut

Amount of Award: \$10,000 in outright funds and \$1,750 in matching funds if \$3,500 in outside gifts are raised

This project brings a group of scholars to Riverside, to portray important American writers of the late nineteenth century. Herman Melville, Frederick Douglass, Louisa May Alcott, Henry David Thoreau, and Walt Whitman all contributed to the nation's declaration of cultural independence from European traditions and to the idea of a "literature for democracy." The program is scheduled for four evenings in late August 1991, to be held in a local park.

Talking Dance: Fall 1991

Sponsor: Talking Dance, Oakland

Project Directors: Penny Peak, David Gere

Amount of Award: \$10,000 in matching funds if \$20,000 in outside gifts are raised

During fall 1991, this project will present a series of talks and discussions to accompany presentations on performance art controversies, African dance-drumming, and the work of modern dancer and choreographer Lucas Hoving. The programs will bring scholars together with artists to examine the boundaries between dance and performance art, between dance labeled as "contemporary" and that identified as "ethnic." Discussions will also be aired on KQED radio's "Forum" program.

Heart of Wisdom: Audio Explorations in Jewish Culture

Sponsor: A Traveling Jewish Theatre

Project Director: Corey Fischer

Amount of Award: \$10,000 in outright funds and \$24,000 in matching funds if \$48,000 in outside gifts are raised

This series of radio programs will feature aspects of Jewish culture, such as women's roles, storytelling traditions, the importance of the Yiddish language, and the German-Jewish intellectual heritage. Through interviews with writers and scholars, the project will examine the contexts and interactions that have shaped Jewish culture and the role of the spoken word in the transmission of all human cultures. Two programs are scheduled for completion in September 1991 for airing on noncommercial radio.

What You Can Learn from Art: South Asian Paintings

Sponsor: San Diego Museum of Art

Project Director: Ellen S. Smart

Amount of Award: \$10,000 in outright funds

Beginning in November 1991, the San Diego Museum of Art will present a major exhibition of Indian paintings from the Binney Estate. This project adds public lectures that will explore many facets of South Asian culture, politics, and art history. Topics include religious themes in the paintings, the place of the artist in the Mughal Empire, and philosophical aspects of manuscript illuminations.

Dialogue: The Dramatic Work as Historical/Cultural Document

Sponsor: San Diego Repertory Theatre

Project Director: Kirsten Brandt

Amount of Award: \$4,100 in matching funds if \$8,200 in outside funds are raised

This series of lectures and published essays will accompany the theater's upcoming presentations, including the Sophocles' *Oedipus Trilogy*, Nelly Tiscornia's *Made in Lanus*, and Julie Hebert's *Ruby's Bucket of Blood*. The scholarly talks and essays will explore topics such as ancient Greek philosophy, Argentinean literary themes, or race relations in the South. The series begins in September 1991.

Humanities and Contemporary Issues

The Celluloid Closet

Sponsor: Telling Pictures/Frameline, San Francisco

Project Directors: Robert Epstein, Jeffrey Friedman

Amount of Award: \$10,000 in outright funds

This script for the first episode of a three-part television series will examine the role of homosexual film characters in shaping public attitudes toward homosexuality and sex roles. By exploring how Hollywood has handled the subject of homosexuality through the years, the series will consider America's evolving assumptions about sexuality and roles for women and men, homosexual and heterosexual.

Fred Korematsu Film Project

Sponsor: National Asian American Telecommunications Association, San Francisco

Project Director: Kenneth Korematsu

Amount of Award: \$10,000 in outright funds and \$6,964 in matching funds if \$13,928 in outside gifts are raised

This film script uses the story of one man's resistance to anti-Japanese prejudice during the Second World War to reveal how the Japanese-American community responded to the crisis of internment. Fred Korematsu refused to report for the internment mandated by Executive Order 9066 and was arrested three weeks later. Although the U.S. Supreme Court decided in 1944 that Korematsu's internment was justified by "military necessity," his conviction was vacated in 1983.



Young prince embraced by a small princess, from Ahmadnagar, circa 1585. Photo courtesy of the San Diego Museum of Art, "What You Learn from Art: South Asian Paintings" project.

Who Owns the Past?

Sponsor: Independent Producer's Services, Berkeley

Project Director: N. Jed Riffe

Amount of Award: \$10,000 in outright funds

Significant archaeological sites occur throughout California, and the proper treatment of the artifacts they hold, along with those already in museums, has become a many-sided debate. This film script will explore the history, practices, and purposes of archeology as they shed light on such pressing issues as the repatriation of ancestral remains and the display of artifacts held sacred by Native Americans.

90 in the 90s

Sponsor: Clarity Educational Productions, Berkeley

Project Directors: Gail Dolgin, Judith Montell

Amount of Award: \$10,000 in outright funds

The women interviewed in this film script are of many different cultural and economic backgrounds, but all will turn ninety during this decade. Their stories of youth and maturing reflect upon a period of change, including women's suffrage in 1920, the rise of the consumer culture, and the Great Migration from the south during 1915-20. During the last sixty years, their lives have been affected, although in different ways, by increasing availability of contraception and struggles against sexism and racism.

Humanities in Public Libraries

Gulf Arab States: Beyond Camels, Oil, and the Sand Dunes

Sponsor: Placentia Library District

Project Director: Suad S. Ammar

Amount of Award: \$9,994 in outright funds and \$1,750 in matching funds if \$3,500 in outside funds are raised

This multi-faceted project will use scholarly talks, a traveling exhibit, and interactive computer programs to explore life in six of the Persian Gulf states: Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. Participating libraries are in Placentia, Oceanside, Long Beach, Santa Maria, Coronado, Oxnard, San Jose, Berkeley, and Pasadena, along with Monterey, Fresno, and Kern Counties. Events begin in September 1991.



Twins seven days old are prepared for traditional ceremonial winnowing. From the film *El Sebou* by Fadwa El Guindi, lecturer for the "Gulf Arab States" project. Photo courtesy El Nil Research.

CALENDAR OF HUMANITIES EVENTS

Note: Please confirm the locations and times of these events with local sponsors. Listings are often based on information provided to CCH considerably before final arrangements are made.

EXHIBITS

Through Aug 18

"Wisdom and Compassion: The Sacred Art of Tibet" is the first full-scale exploration of Tibetan art to be undertaken in the United States. At the Asian Art Museum, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco. (415) 668-6404

Through Aug. 31

"Creating the Buttes: The Geology and Mythology of the Sutter Buttes." This exhibit looks at the history of geologic theories regarding the origins of the Sutter Buttes and at the Native American and Anglo-American myths and folklore that have been formed and evolved to explain them. At the Community Memorial Museum of Sutter County, 1333 Butte House Road, Yuba City. (916) 741-7141

Through Sept. 13

"The Shakers: Put Your Hands to Work..." exhibit includes photographs and artifacts of Shaker Baskets. Sponsored by the City of Riverside Historic Resources Department. At the Riverside Municipal Museum, 3720 Orange Street, Riverside. (714) 782-5968

Through November

"Exiles in Paradise" is an exhibit about European artists who came to California during the 1930s and 40s, at the Hollywood Bowl Museum, 2301 N. Highland Ave., Los Angeles. (213) 850-2058

July 13

"Traditional Japanese Buddhist Life" exhibit opening and panel discussion at the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center, Los Angeles. (213) 829-6002

July 13 Aug. 25

"Official Images: New Deal Photography" SITES exhibit will appear at the Fort Bragg Center for the Arts at Dalys, 303 North Main Street, Fort Bragg. Call (707) 937-2302 or (707) 964-0994 for more information.

Sept. 6 - 26

"Gulf Arab States: Beyond Camels, Oil, and Sand Dunes," will open at the Placentia Library. Program includes the use of an interactive computer, an exhibit of materials from the six Gulf countries, and a lecture by a scholar on the culture, economics, religion and government of these countries. During the next twelve months, the program will travel to Santa Maria Public Library, Monterey County Library, and other California sites. (714) 528-1926

Sept. 7 - Oct. 19

"Official Images: New Deal Photography" SITES exhibit will appear at the Merced County Courthouse Museum, 21st and N streets, Merced. (209) 385-7426

Oct. 1 - Nov. 4

"AIDS and the New Community" is an exhibit on the compassionate care of people who have AIDS, featuring life at the Maitri Hospice run by San Francisco's Hartford Zen Center. At the Grace Cathedral, 1051 Taylor St., San Francisco, open daily from 8:00 am to 6:00 pm. (415) 863-0508

EVENTS

Jul. 24 - Aug. 14

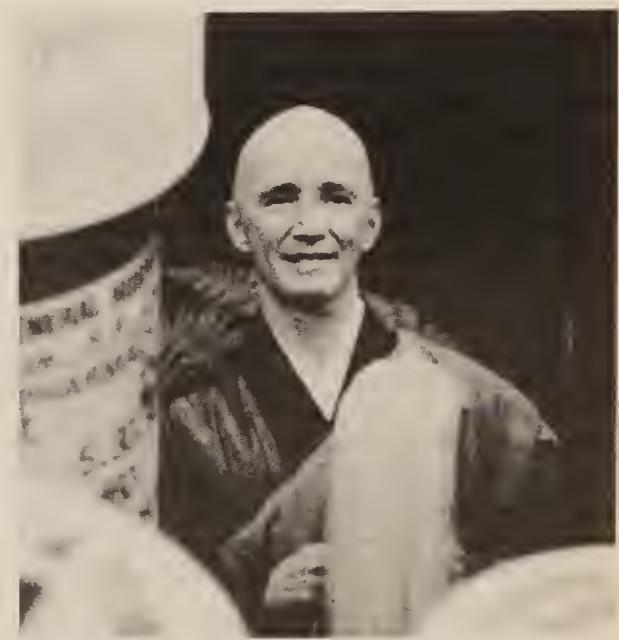
"Tibet: Dreams and Documents" presents documentary and feature films about Tibet, including *Storm over Asia* (July 24, 27); *The Horse Thief* (Jul. 31, Aug. 3); *Tibet: Requiem for a Faith* and *The Abominable Snowman of the Himalayas* (Aug. 14). Showings on Wednesdays are at 6:30 p.m., Saturdays at 1 p.m. On August 3 at 2:30 p.m. a discussion will focus on "Map to an Imaginary Place: Films of Tibet." All events at the Asian Art Museum, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco. (415) 668-6404

Aug. 22 - 25

"The American Renaissance Chautauqua," sponsored by the Riverside Arts Foundation. Four summer evenings of Chautauqua, a series of free public programs on writers of the American Renaissance: Herman Melville, Walt Whitman, Louisa May Alcott, Frederick Douglass and Henry David Thoreau, as portrayed by a traveling troupe of scholars who speak in their characters' voices and then in dialogue with the audience. Events planned throughout Riverside. Evening big-top presentations at Fairmount Park, Riverside, with musical performances beginning at 7:00 pm and the Chautauqua performance beginning at 7:30 pm. (714) 685-2027

Aug. 25

"Rewriting the Canon" is a public forum on women's art and its role in the art world and in society. The event accompanies an exhibition, "Guerilla Girls Talk Back: A Retrospective 1985-1990." At the Falkirk Cultural Center, 1408 Mission at E Street, San Rafael. (415) 485-3328



Compassionate ways to accept and treat serious illness form the heart of the project "AIDS and the New Community." Photo taken at San Francisco's Hartford Zen Center is by Rob Lee.

Sept. 3

"Talking Dance" presents "Lucas Hoving: A Life in Dance." At Theater Artaud, 450 Florida Street, San Francisco. (415) 452-5919

Sept. 14

"German Migration from Russia to Lodi" is a lecture given by author and historian Sally Roesch Wagner on the migrations of Germans from Russia, to South Dakota and on to Lodi and other areas of the Central Valley. At the Lodi Library. (209) 386-8269

Sept. 16

"Dialogue: The Dramatic work as Historical/Cultural Document" presents the first of five lectures preceding the play *Changing Love* by Romulus Linney. At the Lyceum Theatre, Horton Plaza, San Diego. (619) 231-3586

Sept. 16

"Talking Dance" presents "Performance Art Under Attack: Why?" The format is a one-hour performance by artist participants, followed by a one to one-and-a-half hour discussion moderated by a scholar. At Theater Artaud, 4540 Florida Street, San Francisco. (415) 452-5919

Sept. 28

"Tibet: Universal Values from a Traditional Culture" is a day-long symposium on the practice and implications of Tibetan Buddhist philosophy. The event includes topics such as images of the feminine, western responses to Tibet, and Buddhist ecological perspectives. The program is scheduled from 10 a.m to 6:30 p.m. at Dwinelle Hall, Room 145, on the U.C. Berkeley campus. (415) 254-0109, David Komito.

CALENDAR

- Sept. 30 "Talking Dance" sponsors "Breaking Down the Barriers: African Dance-Drumming Goes Contemporary," a one-hour performance by artist participants followed by discussion. At Laney College Theater, Oakland. (415) 452-5919
- Oct. 4 "Transforming AIDS through Art," is a symposium of artists and scholars at the Grace Cathedral in San Francisco, beginning at 7:30 p.m. The related exhibit, "AIDS and the New Community," will be open to the public from 8 am to 7:30 pm on this date. (415) 863-8508
- Oct. 12 "A Portrait of the Italians in America" is a public illustrated talk on the Italian contributions to American life given by historian Dr. Vincenza Scarpaci. 7:30 pm at the Almond Growers Hall, 16th and C Streets, Sacramento. (916) 736-1251
- Oct. 14 "Dialogue: The Dramatic work as Historical/Cultural Document" presents the second of five lectures preceding the play *Uncle Tom's Cabin* adapted by Robert Alexander. At the Lyceum Theatre, Horton Plaza, San Diego. (619) 231-3586
- Oct. 20 "AIDS and the New Community" is a day-long symposium exploring how the political and economic problems surrounding the AIDS epidemic have created a new working community. Participants include philosopher Jacob Needleman. At the Grace Cathedral, 1051 Taylor Street, in San Francisco. (415) 863-8508
- October "AIDS and the New Community," a photo exhibit project at Grace Cathedral in San Francisco, presents a weekend afternoon symposium on the role of volunteers in responding to the complex needs of AIDS patients. For date and time, call project sponsor, Maitri AIDS Hospice at (415) 863-8508.

Nominations Invited for Council Members

The California Council for the Humanities, an organization of public-spirited citizens interested in the humanities, will be selecting new members in 1992 and invites nominations from the public. Members serve three-year terms, which are renewable once. Nomination forms will be mailed in August directly to everyone on the CCH mailing list.

HUMANITIES

NEWS

CCH Explores New Avenues toward the Common Good

by Jim Quay, Executive Director

The Lilly Endowment of Indianapolis has awarded \$50,000 to the California Council for the Humanities and Vesper International, a program of the Vesper Society Group of San Leandro devoted to developing partnerships of service and caring. The purpose of the grant is to conduct preliminary research into a public center, which currently has the working title "The Center for the Common Good." It would be a place to which ethnic organizations, interest groups, state and local agencies, religious organizations, and nonprofit organizations could turn whenever they need to broaden their perspectives through humane discussion and cross-sectoral dialogue.

Just as humanities institutes at individual colleges strive to involve campus humanities departments in interdisciplinary panels or discussions, such a center would strive to bring the different sectors of society together to discuss issues and values. CCH is one of the few organizations whose history, mission, and disinterested position permit it to convene these different sectors, and evidence is mounting that the region and the state badly need an institution dedicated to this function.

The Center would have three major roles:

- A SPONSOR of the kinds of statewide and local projects which the Council funds other organizations to sponsor: lectures, reading-and-discussion groups, conferences.
- A CLEARINGHOUSE for public humanities activities which promote multicultural, civic, and community literacy, studying projects that address these areas. Organizations seeking to locate humanities experts working in these areas could contact the center for references.
- A CONVENOR for those sectors, ethnic groups, and professions that need to talk together about common problems and common values and that need the expertise of public service scholars.

Martha Holstein has been hired to investigate European and American centers which might serve as models for the proposed center. She will also locate and engage potential users of the center in several meetings to be held during 1991. Dr. Gordon Firestein has been hired to identify ways that computers and telecommunications have been or could be used to further aims similar to those of the proposed center.

One of the primary models to be studied is that of the German Evangelical Academies. These academies were founded by the German Evangelical Churches after World War II to help re-integrate a shattered German society. They began with an emphasis on the consequences of Nazism, then moved to bring business and labor leaders together when the first strikes occurred in the early 1950s. On the basis of this work, the academies began to hold many vocational and cross-sectoral conferences. Over the years, their conferences have brought together representatives of labor, business, government, church, and university, and they're given much credit for the "social compact" that exists between the various sectors in Germany today.

Vesper International has convened such conferences for nearly twenty years, co-operating with the German Academies to bring academics, religious leaders, and public figures together to discuss important topics. The cross-sectoral aspect of this work is most essential to the Council's mission to bring the humanities into public

life and its current work on community and the "Common Good" initiative.

Last fall, CCH and Vesper International identified representatives from four other organizations willing to discuss the possibility of a center based on the Academy model. The four, California Tomorrow, Greenbelt Alliance, Institute for the Arts of Democracy, and San Franciscans Seeking Consensus, are all engaged in encouraging the kind of cross-sectoral dialogue the German Academies are known for. Now, with Lilly Endowment funding, this group will be expanded to include organizations beyond the San Francisco Bay Area.

Next March, the Council and Vesper International will review the reports of Holstein and Firestein and discuss the actual planning of the center.

CCH Awards Supplemental Matching Funds

At its June 13-14 meeting, the Council's executive committee awarded additional matching funds made available by the National Endowment for the Humanities to seven projects that had applied for the funds to expand projects previously awarded CCH grant money.

- "Seeing the Invisible: Mega-Farms and the Rural Communities of California" received \$12,097 in matching funds if \$24,193 is raised in outside gifts. Sponsored by the California Institute for Rural Studies, Davis.
- "California Dilemma: Economic Development, Environmental Quality, and Economic Justice" was awarded \$7,900 in matching funds if \$15,800 is raised in outside gifts. Sponsored by Occidental College, Los Angeles.
- "Color Adjustment: Blacks in Primetime" received \$20,000 in matching funds if \$40,000 is raised in outside gifts. Sponsored by Resolution, Inc., Berkeley.
- "New Voices: The Environmental Crisis from the Perspectives of Those Most Impacted and Least Empowered" was awarded \$14,467 in matching funds if \$28,993 are raised in outside gifts. Sponsored by the Labor/Community Strategy Center, Van Nuys.
- "Stories of Change" received \$5,000 in matching funds if \$10,000 is raised in outside gifts. Sponsored by Future Educational Films, Inc., San Francisco.
- "America and the Geography of Hope" received \$1,900, if \$3,800 in outside gifts are raised. Sponsored by Western Heritage, Berkeley.
- "Steadying the Gaze" received \$5,477 in matching funds, if \$10,954 is raised in outside gifts. Sponsored by the Maitri AIDS Hospice at the Hartford Zen Center, San Francisco.

Proposal-Writing Workshops Scheduled

Workshops are scheduled during August for people interested in submitting grant applications at CCH's October 1 deadline.

In San Francisco:

Thursday, August 15, 10 a.m. to 12 noon and
Tuesday, August 20, 10 a.m. to 12 noon.

In Los Angeles:

Monday, August 19, 10 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.
Friday, August 30, 10 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.

The workshops are free, but advance registration is required. Please call the nearest CCH office (415/391-1474 in San Francisco or 213/623-5993 in Los Angeles) to register and confirm dates.

CALIFORNIA COUNCIL FOR THE HUMANITIES

312 Sutter Street
Suite 601
San Francisco, CA 94108
415/391-1474

315 W. Ninth Street
Suite 1103
Los Angeles, CA 90015
213/623-5993

DON A. SCHWEITZER, CHAIR
Dean, School of Humanities and Social Sciences
California State University, Fullerton

JERRY BATHKE
Director of External Relations
ARCO, Los Angeles

CARROLL PARROTT BLUE
Assistant Professor of Film
San Diego State University

LINDA CROWE
System Director
Peninsula Library System, San Mateo

LILY CUNEO
Civic Leader
San Francisco

KATHRYN WILER DABELOW
Professor of History
Pasadena City College

PAUL ESPINOSA
Executive Producer, Public Affairs and Ethnic Issues
KPBS-TV, San Diego State University

KATHRYN GAEDDERT
Director
Sacramento History Center

ARLEN HANSEN
Professor of English
University of the Pacific, Stockton

GLORIA MACIAS HARRISON
Chair, Department of Foreign Languages
San Bernardino Valley College

BARBARA HERMAN
Associate Professor of Philosophy and Law
University of Southern California

FRANCISCO JIMENEZ
Associate Academic Vice-President
Santa Clara University

MICHAEL OWEN JONES
Director, Folklore and Mythology Center
UCLA

SISTER KATHLEEN KELLY
Dean of the Doheny Campus
Mount St. Mary's College, Los Angeles

JIM KENNEDY
Executive Producer, News and Current Affairs
KCET, Los Angeles

PETER KLASSEN
Dean, School of Social Sciences
California State University, Fresno

CATHERINE BABCOCK MAGRUDER
Artistic Director, Ukiah Players Theatre

SAMUEL MARK
Assistant Vice-President, Office of Civic and Community Relations
University of Southern California

CHARLES MUSCATINE
Professor of English
UC Berkeley

JOHN K. ROTH
Chair, Department of Philosophy and Religion
Claremont McKenna College

VICKI LYNN RUIZ
Associate Professor of History
UC Davis

PETER STANSKY
Professor of History
Stanford University

STAFF

James Quay
Executive Director

Stan Yogi
Program Officer

Joanne Huddleston
Editor

Teri X. Yazdi
Administrative Assistant

Susan Gordon
Associate Director

Jeannie Mac Gregor
Program Officer

Rosalino Dizon
Grants Administrator

Jim Humes
Office Assistant

NEXT PROPOSAL DEADLINE: October 1, 1991

Proposals must conform to the 1991 Program Announcement. Send 10 copies to the San Francisco office by the due date.

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
San Francisco, CA
Permit No. 11379

HUMANITIES NETWORK

Summer 1991
Volume 13/Number 3



Riverside, San Bernardino Host Council's 1991 Public Humanities Project

Appearing as Thomas Jefferson, Rhodes scholar Clay Jenkinson met a large and enthusiastic audience at Riverside's Raincross Square. The evening included crowd-pleasing music by the local group Musica Americana and a display of historical materials from nearly 20 communities in the two-county region. The June finale concluded a successful spring reading-and-discussion series, "Longing for Community: Dream or Nightmare?" Photos by Michael Elderman.

